New South

- South Increases Propaganda
- A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal
- South's McCarthyism Hit
- Too Little, Too Late
- Bring Industry to Virginia

Benjamin Muse

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New South Notes

The Southern die-hard segregationists are trying to convince the rest of the nation and the world that segregation is legally and morally right just as many pre-Civil War Southerners clung to the idea that there was nothing wrong with slavery. Southern propagandists now are putting their efforts behind a campaign to convince the world that the South is right in its race relations.

The lead article in NEW SOUTH tells the story of the growth of the Southern propaganda campaign, and the effort to finance a regionwide program sponsored by public funds.

In keeping with the lead article, NEW SOUTH reprints a column by John Lofton of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* in which he uses the words of a white Southerner to refute a plea for continued segregation presented by a white Northerner.

One of the techniques of Southern racists is a new brand of McCarthyism. To these Southerners, everyone who seeks a more democratic South is a Communist. In NEW SOUTH, we print a news release from 12 Protestant leaders who decry this tactic.

In this issue, NEW SOUTH also prints a portion of a speech before the World Affairs Council in Atlanta by James P. Warburg in which he tells what propaganda uses are made of racists incidents in the South and how segregation hurts the U. S. abroad.

Another article, in keeping with the ones mentioned, is a column by Benjamin Muse reprinted from the *Washington Post and Times-Herald* in which he relates how Southern segregationist tactics are affecting industry in Virginia.

South Increases Propaganda

"The South must sell its ideas the way Hollywood producers sell starlets."

That is the opinion of State Rep. William H. Reedy of Florida who is the latest advocate of a regionwide "hard sell" campaign of the Southern "way of life." Rep. Reedy has been quoted in the press as authorizing a proposal that the Southern states band together and use public funds to sell the world on the South's brand of race relations.

The "tell the world" campaign is nothing new and neither is the attempt to organize it on a regionwide basis, but both endeavors have received new impetus recently.

George H. Rast, vice president of the Florida National Bank of Leesburg, recently outlined Rep. Reedy's 16-million-dollar campaign to the spring conference of the Florida Public Relations Assn.

The project, financed by tax funds from individual cooperating states, would attempt to change opinions of the South now prevalent in the world press. The primary purpose, he said, would be to present the race relations question in factual language and then the project would serve to induce increased tourist business and industrial developments.

Rast reported that a bill is now before the Florida Legislature to appropriate half-a-million dollars to inaugurate the project. Rep. Reedy reportedly has been invited to the next Conference of Southern Governors to discuss details of the proposal.

Southern leaders recognize the fact that national and world opinion is influential in the move to rid the nation of segregation. The thinking is that if this opinion can be altered to any appreciable degree the South's chances of retaining segregation will be improved accordingly.

Although the die-hards have not been successful in organizing a propaganda campaign on a regional basis, the propaganda coming from the many sources in the South is noted for its diversity. It has run the gamut from the old myth of innate inferiority of the Negro to a plea for states rights and constitutional government. Underlying most of the Southern propoganda is a foundation of half-truths and distortions designed to draw attention away from the basic problem involved. Seldom is any solution put forward except "let us alone as we are."

A partial listing of some of the segregationists' propaganda devices in the campaign to retain segregation reveals the diversity of the program.

Segregationists claim:

(a) that the desegregation movement is Communist inspired.

(b) that desegregation will lead to intermarriage and mongrelization.

(c) that the Negro does not want desegregation.

(d) that the Negro race is innately inferior to the white race.

(e) that desegregation inevitably leads to violence.

Propaganda

(Continued)

(f) that the Supreme Court desegregation ruling was not based on the Constitution and that it was Communist inspired.

(g) that desegregation is a deprivation of state's rights.

(h) that desegregation inevitably lowers educational standards in the schools.

(i) that desegregation abrogates the rights of personal association.

A propaganda effort by an agency or an individual may concentrate on one of the segregationists' claims or may combine several into one piece of propaganda. Several means of distribution are used including direct mail, newspaper publicity through statements by public officials, speeches, advertisements in newspapers both North and South, and articles in national magazines.

An historical look at the development of the Southern propaganda campaign reveals how the idea of removing pressure from the South by taking the offensive has grown.

The White Citizens' Councils, established in Mississippi shortly after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, at first concentrated chiefly on fear and economic weapons to contain desegregation movements. A chief example is the publication of names and addresses of Negroes in Yazoo City, Miss., who petitioned for desegregation. The Negroes subsequently lost their jobs and were subjected to economic boycotts.

When these tactics brought condemnation from many sources, a campaign was started to make the WCC more respectable. Late in 1955, Citizens' Council leaders and Southern politicians began calling for a Southwide organization to tell the South's side in the segregation fight.

U. S. Senator James O. Eastland was one of the earliest and strongest advoctes of a commission to sell the South. As in the more recent proposals, Sen. Eastland advocated the use of public funds to finance the Southern propaganda move.

Speaking before a White Citizens' Council rally in Jackson, Miss., in December, 1955, Sen. Eastland proposed that such a commission be formed to fight the threat of racial integration. He suggested that the commission "make a study of race" and "publicize the facts upon the characteristics, morals and native intelligence of the races" and "the facts as to how interracial schools lower the educational standards of children and its psychological effect upon pupils of both races" as well as publish "conditions that prevail in the interracial schools of Washington and New York."

New Tactics

To show how leaders were beginning to re-evaluate segregationists' tactics, a quote of Sen. Eastland's at this meeting is appropriate. Although he termed the anti-segregation decision of the U. S. Supreme Court "a monstrous crime" dictated by "political pressure groups bent upon the destruction of the American system of government and mongrelization of the white races," he added that "the greatest danger is not in the court —they are politicians and can change their minds." And, according to press reports, he shouted, "We in the South cannot stay longer on the defensive. We

must take the offense. We must carry the message to every section of the United States."

Following the Senator's speech the WCC assembly voted unanimously to adopt the commission proposal.

About the same time, Citizens' Council representatives began to take the same tack. W. J. Simmons, secretary of the Jackson, Miss., White Citizens' Council, said in 1955 that "all eyes are on Mississippi."

"We," he said, "have become notorious in the national press but we have gained respect from the opposition . . ." He added that "eventually" the result of the WCC movement would be political action on a national scale, "which is the only cure."

A regionwide organization was formed late in 1955 with representatives from 12 Southern states convening in Memphis, Tenn., to select an advisory committee which included some of the most important leaders in the Southern fight to maintain segregation. The 100-man advisory committee of the group, which took the name of The Federation for Constitutional Government, included Sen. Eastland, Sen. Thurmond (D-SC), Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia, six United States representatives, and four former Southern governors. The former governors were Fielding Wright of Mississippi, Herman Talmadge of Georgia, Sam H. Jones of Louisiana, and Coke Stevenson of Texas. Representatives, all Democrats, included Williams and Hebert of Louisiana, Davis of Georgia, Rivers of South Carolina, and Abbit and Tuck of Virginia.

Although this group has received some publicity since its organization, it never succeeded in becoming the strong regional commission that its founders hopefully forecast.

The Citizens' Councils, The Federation of Constitutional Government, and other private organizations, all with strong political ties, make up one of the types of propaganda agencies working to undermine the Supreme Court decision. The other type is governmental and is already being supported by tax funds.

The governmental type of propaganda agencies for segregation usually takes the form of committees with the initial purpose of proposing segregation legislation to the individual state legislature. But several of these commissions have entered strongly into propaganda campaigns aimed at other sections of the country as well as the South.

Mississippi Effort

Such a group is the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission which was organized in 1956. The Mississippi group has mailed out materials in the segregation fight. It also has made unsupported claims of influencing a large foundation to withdraw some of its support from the movement for racial equality.

Perhaps the biggest endeavor of the Mississippi group was a state-sponsored tour of Mississippi by 28 editors of Northern papers in 1956. The Sovereignty Commission wanted the editors to see "Mississippi's side in the integration question." This endeavor was something less than a success since at least several of the editors wrote critical articles concerning what they saw (see *New South*, February, March, 1957).

Another such committee is the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee. This group is headed by State Sen. William Rainach, who also was president of the Louisiana Citizen Council until he re-

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(Continued)

cently resigned to become a candidate for governor of the state.

The Louisiana group ran an advertisement in the *New York Herald Tribune* setting forth "the position of the South on race relations" to the "people of New York City." The advertisement claimed that segregation is best for both races and contained a strong hint that the New Yorker would come around to the white Southerner's way of thinking as Negro migration continues. The ad appeared early in 1958.

Earlier, the Joint Legislative Committee held hearings with the announced purpose of investigating "subversive elements in the racial unrest." The Committee used a former Communist, who had been discredited by the Federal Government, in an attempt to show that the movement for racial equality was Communist-backed.

The most active governmental group operating in this field was the now defunct Georgia Commission on Education. Its activity was varied, but its propaganda effort consisted mostly of nationwide mailings of literature alleging that the desegregation movement was Communist inspired.

Georgia Effort

The Georgia Commission operated on a large budget, its 1957 operating cost was placed at more than $104,000. Its activity included:

(a) The mailing of more than 200,000 copies of a slick, photograph-filled broadside which accused the Highlander Folk School in neighboring Tennessee of being a "Communist training center."

(b) The distribution of 100,000 booklets aimed at proving that the NAACP is run by the Communists.

(c) The mailing of 20,000 pamphlets supporting Orval Faubus to Little Rock voters on the eve of Arkansas' gubernatorial primary.

The Commission engaged in other activity and mailings and toyed with the idea of using wire-tap equipment before the Commission director, T. V. Williams, Jr., became involved in partisan politics and was forced to resign.

In the 1959 Legislature, the old Commission was replaced with the Commission on Constitutional Government; as yet, the new group has engaged in little activity that has been made public.

Putnam Letter

Other attempts have been made to launch strong state propaganda battles with the hope of eventual regionwide results. One South Carolina lawmaker, Rep. Arthur Ravenel, Jr., at one time proposed that his state put up five million dollars in cash and float a 100-million-dollar bond issue to buy Northern newspapers and national magazines.

One of the most widely distributed pieces of propaganda in the battle for national sentiment by the South is the "Putnam Letter." This is a letter from Carleton Putnam to President Eisenhower which gives very generalized reasons why he thinks the South should be allowed to retain segregation. Mr. Putnam is presented as "a member of a famous New England family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia." With these "credits," it is rather obvious why Southern segregationists have eagerly seized on Mr. Putnam's letter as a propaganda plum.

The letter first appeared in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* and tear sheets were sent all across the country. An Alabama committee was set up to distribute the letter, and the latest report is that the group has bought advertising space for the letter in 13 East and Midwest newspapers. Voluntary contributions are being sought to finance the advertisements.

The letter itself contains no new reasons why the South should be allowed to continue segregation; but the strength of the plea to "let the South alone' is that it comes from a Northerner of some repute. It is somewhat ironical that the Southern segregationists will take a Yankee segregationist to their bosom while rejecting more farsighted Southerners who are seeking to solve the South's problem instead of pro longing it. The Putnam letter has been ably answered by a newspaper columnist, who did so by quotations from a book by a Southerner. (See "A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal" elsewhere in this issue.)

It is unlikely that this segregationists' propaganda program will be abated in the near future. On the contrary, the program shows signs of being stepped up as indicated by the Florida activity.

The fact that such proposals are made is somewhat encouraging to those Southerners who seek a more democratic South. For as Rep. Ravenel declared:

"The great battle today is for the minds of the American public. Arrayed against us [segregationists] is practically all of the Northern press, radio, television, as well as most of the great weekly magazines."

Rep. Ravenel might have added to this list greatly by taking into account the majority of religious leaders, the federal government, and world opinion. Then, too, a strong force which has not been included is the many Southerners of both races and from all walks of life who are "arrayed" against the retention of undemocratic Southern institutions.

When one analyzes the propaganda movement to retain segregation in the South, it is apparent that the move can hardly succeed. Desegregation may be slowed in areas of the South through this method; but with the "array" of allies the movement has, it seems unlikely at this point that the South can retain the outworn institution of segregation indefinitely even if its distorted seeds of propaganda should fall on a few fertile fields.

Congratulations

Louisville Courier Journal

Both the University of Louisville and Dr. C. H. Parrish, Jr., are to be congratulated on his appointment as head of the sociology department.

Dr. Parrish can be said, in all justice, to have earned this appointment. . . .

But earned distinction is not always accorded. That the University has accorded it in this case, making Dr. Parrish the first Negro to head a department of any integrated university in the South, speaks well not only for the University and for the educator, but for the climate of interracial relations in this community—a climate Dr. Parrish has done much to foster. [Dr. Parrish is also program associate of the Southern Regional Council.]

A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal

By JOHN LOFTON

From Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

In today's issue of the Post-Gazette there is an advertisement consisting of a letter to President Eisenhower criticizing the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision. Carleton Putnam, the writer of the letter, is presented by the ad's sponsors as "a member of a famous New England family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia." These credentials are obviously intended to convey the impression that Mr. Putnam's segregationist views carry the weight of high, non-partisan authority.

By way of demonstrating that Mr. Putnam's preachments are something less than Olympian, we would like to quote in answer to them the comments of an observer who is much closer to the subject and who, we think, has credentials which make him a far more creditable authority. He is James McBride Dabbs, a member of a family that has lived in the South for 150 years, a native of South Carolina, owner and operator of a plantation employing Negroes, a graduate of the University of South Carolina and of Clark University, author of the recent book, *The Southern Heritage* (Knopf), from which we quote. Excerpts from Putnam and Dabbs follow:

Mr. Putnam: "It is my personal conviction that the local [Southern] customs in this case were 'hardened by time' for a very good reason, and that while they may not . . . have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court."

Mr. Dabbs: "There's no doubt they [Negroes] are more poorly equipped than the whites. But, now, having made this probably correct observation, we conclude that nature, or God, made them so. This is a most happy conclusion. For it's perfectly clear that the inferior position of the Negro in the South is due either to God or to us; and as it's doubtful democratic and Christian doctrine for us to admit the responsibility, we are happy to pass it on to God."

Mr. Putnam: "Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court."

Mr. Dabbs: "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been a part of the Constitution for that length of time [90 years] and, however adopted, are built into the conscience of the nation. True, the judges are just getting around to pinpointing their meaning, but the meaning has been there for any man to read, and as time has turned the pages the meaning has become increasingly clear."

Mr. Putnam: "In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word 'associate' here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please.)"

Mr. Dabbs: "The court didn't order anybody to 'integrate' anything; it merely said we should stop separating school children on the basis of race. . . . It's we who have substituted 'mixing' for 'stop separating.' . . . Negroes merely want the rights and privileges of American citizens. But desiring an equal chance with us at success isn't the same as wanting to sit with us in school and church."

Mr. Putnam: "Any man with two eyes in his head can observe a Negro settlement in the Congo, can study the pure-blooded African in his native habitat as he exists when left on his own resources, can compare this settlement with London or Paris, and can draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence—or that combination of character and intelligence which is civilization."

Mr. Dabbs: ". . . with topflight Negroes in practically every field, it seems rather late to raise the old question of the implied inferiority of the Negro because of the lack of a modern civilization in Africa. Yet the question is raised and should be answered briefly. First, though Africa has never had an industrial civilization—a Western creation of yesterday—the native Africans of the slaving period, especially those who were brought to America, were not savages but pre-literate folk with a complex agricultural, social, and legal society, with skilled workers in iron and other metals, and with great artists, especially in sculpture and wood-carving. Indeed, the invention of iron-smelting may have been brought to Europe from Africa."

Mr. Putnam: "I would emphatically support improvement of education in Negro schools, if and where it is inferior. Equality of opportunity and equality before the law, when not strained to cover other situations, are acceptable ideals because they provide the chance to earn and to progress . . ."

Mr. Dabbs: "We overlooked the 'equal' that Plessy v. Ferguson said they [Negroes] should have, and thus caused them and the courts to ponder its absence until now the 'separate' has been outlawed.

. . . They now have the right to desegrated schools, just like other people, and let the law forget race."

Mr. Putnam: ". . . for 94 years . . . the North has been trying to force the black man down the white Southerner's throat, and it is a miracle that relations between the races in the South have progressed as well as they have."

Mr. Dabbs: "Whatever our dreamed-of Southern society, of slavery or segregation, might have become if left alone, it was not, it could not be, left alone in the dynamic world in which it was established. It would have been changed whether anyone, inside or outside, ever thought about changing it; it would have been changed by general forces moving in the world."

So speaks James McBride Dabbs. For a full, eloquent and knowledgeable answer to Carleton Putnam, readers should give *The Southern Heritage* a complete reading.

South's McCarthyism Hit

A group of eleven Protestant Social Action leaders have issued a joint statement denouncing segregation leaders who attempt to identify desegregation with subversion.

Members of seven denominations including Southern Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist, Church of the Brethren, Presbyterian, Disciples of Christ and Congregational Christians were among those signing the statement.

Although the statement represented the thinking of the individual signers and no official action, a spokesman for the group stated that they acted in harmony with the position on desegregation already taken by every major religious body in America.

Direct reference was made to the maiden speech of Rep. Dale Alford of Arkansas in which, according to the group, "he seeks to cast aspersion on the good name of Harry Ashmore, Executive Editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, and upon the reputation of the Southern Regional Council."

Referring to what they termed "this Southern version of McCarthyism . . . first directed at the NAACP," the group expressed alarm that "the disease now spreads to new areas: the white Southerner, the educator, the newspaperman, the minister, the businessman, or the attorney who tries to work at this sensitive problem."

The full text of the statement follows:

We raise our voices in protest against a new and disturbing trend in the South: the cynical attempt by some who oppose racial desegregation to label those who disagree with them as reds, fellow-travelers, or dupes of the Communist conspiracy. Through innuendoes, half-truths, and distortions, doubts are cast on the motivation and background of individuals or groups seeking compliance with the law of the land. The charges are made, the headlines follow: "Communist Activities Charged" or "Subversive Influence Seen."

This Southern version of McCarthyism was first directed against the NAACP. The disease now spreads to new areas: the white Southerner, the educator, the newspaperman, the minister, the businessman, or the attorney who tries to work at this sensitive problem. The goal is the same: to silence those who do not accept the extremist position on segregation.

The charges follow the now-familiar pattern of guilt by association, by innuendo, by distortion. The refutation, the denial, the clarification may come later. They are sadly always a little late and a little more complicated than the simple charge. They merit a less auspicious place in the newspaper. Meanwhile, the damage is done. The "facts" in the charge are not important. The nature of the charge is: the willful attempt to discredit and embarrass honorable men, to discourage others from speaking out, and most of all to enforce silence on a subject which needs so badly to be discussed.

The latest expression of this type of wanton attack is the maiden speech in the U. S. House of Representatives by Dale Alford of Arkansas, in which he seeks to cast aspersion on the good name of Harry Ashmore, Executive Edi-

tor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, and upon the reputation of the Southern Regional Council. The speech has a familiar ring, the prolonged references to a grave conspiracy and then quick references to Mr. Ashmore and the Council. Neither is charged with an improper word or deed; yet the allegation is made that the Council was "founded by a Communist." This allegation is both stale and discredited. No less a Southern conservative than Virginius Dabney, editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, has vouched for the honorable origins of the Council. The Library of Congress and libraries in Arkansas are stocked with the facts on this subject. But this does not deter Dr. Alford, who is understandably sensitive about his own status these days and is apparently attempting to focus attention elsewhere.

For one who has expressed alarm about the communistic threat, it is interesting that Dr. Alford does not explain how the threat operates, who the real leaders are, why the FBI has failed to find them, why he has not urged the FBI on to greater efforts. And of course he never explains why, if desegregation is a Communist plot, he went along so willingly as a Little Rock school board member with the original plan to desegregate Central High School.

He speaks of vague plots and names specific individuals and organizations, with no evidence that they are connected. We protest this. We feel it is immoral. We feel the time has come for the public to be made aware of the resurgence of McCarthyism in the South. If there is in fact a Communist threat in the South, then Dr. Alford and others like him have a responsibility to report their knowledge to the FBI; if not, they have a duty to check their facts. Otherwise, they themselves are doing the real service to communism, which battens on confusion, false charges, and the blind defense of racial injustices in our country.

The Rev. Charles Boyles, Exectuive, National Conference of Methodist Youth, Nashville, Tennessee; The Rev. Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., Nashville, Tennessee; The Rev. Lewis Deer, National Director, Social Education and Intercultural Relations, Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ), Indianapolis, Indiana; Dr. Herman Long, Director, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Nashville, Tennessee; The Rt. Rev. Henry I. Louttit, Bishop of South Florida, Winter Park, Florida; Dr. John H. Marion, Staff Representative, Department of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Richmond, Virginia; Dr. A. C. Miller, Executive Secretary, Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, Tennessee; The Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Jr., Staff Representative, Department of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Nashville, Tennessee; The Rev. Ralph Smeltzer, Director, Social Education, Church of the Brethren, Elgin, Illinois; Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary, Department of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church, New York, New York; The Rev. Galen Weaver, Secretary, Race Relations Department, Congregational Christian Church, New York, New York.

Too Little, Too Late . . .

By JAMES P. WARBURG

World Affairs Council, Atlanta, Georgia

It is, I suppose, natural that we should devote this evening to a discussion of that particular crisis—the crisis over Berlin and Germany — which at the moment preempts our attention.

Before I speak about that subject, however, there are two things that I feel I must say. The first I would say to any audience; the second I feel impelled to say particularly to you.

What I would say to any audience is that the situation in Germany, while extremely dangerous and important, is only one of several sometimes dormant and sometimes active volcanoes which endanger life upon this planet. The situation in the Taiwan Strait is temporarily dormant but may erupt again at any moment. The Middle East is in turmoil. India stands at the crossroads. Africa is seething with revolt. The time to deal with these situations is not when they are spewing molten lava but when an ominous rumbling in the earth warns of impending disaster.

Our failure to anticipate crises and to act between crises so as to prevent their recurrence constitutes the greatest weakness of our foreign policy.

I come now to the subject which I feel impelled to touch upon with you, a group of Southern citizens deeply concerned for the future of our country and of world peace.

As a citizen of Connecticut, I have no right to an opinion concerning a problem which arises out of an historical background peculiar to your section of the country. Nor have I any wish to intrude as an outsider, upon your local handling of a matter which we in the North have under much easier circumstances failed to deal with satisfactorily. I am convinced that the answer to the problem of race relations in the South is a problem which must be solved by the people of the South, and that people in other parts of the United States would do well to concentrate their efforts upon the elimination of discrimination and injustice in their own sections of the country.

As a citizen of the United States, however, I think it not inappropriate to emphasize to you, as fellow-citizens, the extent to which our country and all of Western civilization are imperiled by white racialism. Until very recently, this has been a white man's world. Two generations ago, Asians and Africans still accepted white supremacy as part of the natural order. They do so no longer. The demand for racial equality is part of the demand for independence on the part of that two-thirds of the world's population—mostly non-white—which has for centuries accepted a role of dependence or semi-dependence and a status of inferiority.

It is true that the white man has recently divested himself of a large part of his privileged position and that, along with relinquishing his responsibility, he has also purged himself of much of his racial arrogance. But it is also true that the white man's sense of inherent su-

periority is still enough in evidence to keep alive resentment and to fire the various independence movements in Asia, Africa and the Middle East with fanatical impatience.

The danger that communism may triumph throughout the areas inhabited by non-white peoples is magnified by the fact that communist leadership feeds upon anti-white resentment. There are a number of reasons why all of Asia might go communist. There is practically only one reason why the emerging peoples of Africa may succumb to Moscow's blandishments.

What is happening today in Algeria, in Rhodesia, in Nyasaland, in the Congo and, above all, in South Africa may affect the whole future of Western civilization. Because the United States is regarded as the leader among the advanced Western nations, what happens or fails to happen in this country echoes around the world. In my judgment, the Little Rock affair did more to damage our prestige abroad than the launching of the Soviet sputniks.

I have ventured to make those observations not by way of urging you to do one thing or another, but to emphasize the need for all of us, in every part of the country, to see our problem of race relations in world perspective.

In this matter, as in everything else in the world today, it is later than we think. I am by nature a gradualist. That is to say, I incline to the belief that reform is most effective and most lasting when it is undertaken carefully step-by-step. But, in a period of revolutionary change such as that in which we are living, we must, I think, pay the price for what we have left undone in the past by sacrificing the inclination to go slowly and carefully. If Western civilization perishes, its epitaph may well read: "Too little and too late."

Bring Industry To Virginia

By BENJAMIN MUSE

From Washington Post and Times-Herald

A State Conference on economic and industrial development is scheduled to be held in Richmond . . . It will be sponsored jointly by the State Board of Conservation and Development and the industrial committee of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce.

It is high time. The seriousness of Virginia's failure to attract industry during the period of "massive resistance" has been overlooked in many quarters. The reasons were too obvious. It is not generally realized that 1958 was a year not of progress, not of standing still, but of retrogression in this field. Politicians will no doubt have other explanations, but from the sidelines it seems elementary that corporations would not be enthusiastic about establishing manufacturing plants in a state where the permanent availability of public schools for their personnel is in doubt. However, it wasn't only the school mess itself but the fact that

Industry

(Continued)

"massive resistance" consumed nearly all of the time and attention of our leaders.

North Carolina has a larger Negro population than Virginia; it has its branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and it is under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. It has had token integration for several years. But North Carolina leaders declare proudly that no schools have closed and no schools are going to close in that state.

While Gov. Almond was setting about the liquidation of this state's public school system, Gov. Luther H. Hodges of North Carolina threw himself into a tireless and imaginative campaign of industrial promotion. A quarter of a billion dollars in new industrial investments was attracted to his state in one year.

Incidentally, Arkansas — Virginia's school-closing fellow traveler — saw investments in new and expanded industrial plants shrink from $130 million in 1956 to $50 million in 1957 and to $25 million in 1958.

The report of the Virginia Division of Industrial Development on "Manufacturing Plants in Virginia Established Since 1950" was the most pitiful thing in the way of an official document that has come to this writer's attention in a long time.

One looks, of course, at the record for 1958, which apparently was intended as a refutation of the widely repeated statement that no new industry came to Virginia during the year. On the contrary, says this report, "62 new manufacturing plants" were established in Virginia during 1958—62 no less. But, after studying the figures, one wonders where the line was drawn between a "manufacturing plant" and a couple of fellows engaged in a do-it-yourself enterprise.

Eleven of the "manufacturing plants" had five employes each. Five had "less than five" employes each. It is a pity that the exact figures were not given in the case of these five. Obviously, these "manufacturing plants" had no more than four employes each. Possibly they had only three, or two—and is a one-man operation a plant? One establishment, the General Printing Ink Co., of Richmond, was "estimated" to have five employes. Why didn't somebody drive out to 1715 Summit Ave. and count the ink men?

On the first page of the report we find the brave statement that the number of plants which closed in Virginia during 1958 was "0." But students of the Division's gobbledygook are supposed to interpret this as meaning that no plants opened in 1958 and closed before the end of the year. Actually, we may assume that the normal number of plant-closings occurred during 1958.

From the report itself we learn that 20 plants, which opened from 1950 through 1957, closed last year. Some pre-1950 plants also closed. One manufacturing plant, that of the American Viscose Co. at Roanoke, employing 1750 persons, closed during 1958. The "approximate" number of employes in all the 62 "plants" of the Division's report was only 1663.

It might seem advisable now to quiet down about closing public schools, staff the Division of Industrial Development with grown-up people and bring some new industry to Virginia.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"Humans, as everyone knows, find it difficult to see their troubles in terms of impersonal movements. Many look for personal "devils" as explanations of what they do not understand. To such the "hate-mongers" appeal. Hence when one finds what he hears or reads is attacking not beliefs and opinions but the character of those who hold them—he should look out."

From an editorial
In the *Christian Science Monitor*

• • •

"Hate is terrible enough when it springs from anger, fear, misunderstanding, profound aversion. What then of the man who sets out deliberately to foster and nourish hate? What of the man who spreads defamatory lies that impel human beings to hate their brothers? He is an enemy of society. Whatever his motivation, there is in him a dreadful sickness that infects other men."

From an editorial
In *Norfolk Journal and Guide*

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" . . . There is nothing in the Constitution or laws that authorizes the Ku Klux Klan or its officers to substitute themselves for the law enforcement officers of a community or the courts of the state."

Associate Justice Emory B. Denny,
N. C. Supreme Court,
Quoted by Associated Press

" . . . The greatest attack against segregation comes from the South. It comes from the hearts of men and women and children who fail to see any evil in going to school with Negroes who measure up to the standards they maintain. And their number is legion."

Elmer A. Carter, Chairman,
N. Y. State Commission
Against Discrimination
Quoted by Associated Press

• • •

"One Southerner who has not hesitated to call things by their true names was the North Little Rock school administrator who, a few weeks ago, said flatly that Facsism was on the rise in the South, citing in evidence the mass of hate literature with which he had been deluged since the beginning of the school crisis over the river in Little Rock. The weight of such evidence—and its content—leaves no other conclusion."

From an editorial
In the *Arkansas Gazette*

• • •

"Racial segregation and discrimination, whether in the North or the South, whether by force of un-Christian snobbery or by compulsion of unconstitutional statutes is essentially the same evil."

Rev. William J. Kenealy
Of Loyola University of Chicago
Quoted by *New York Times*